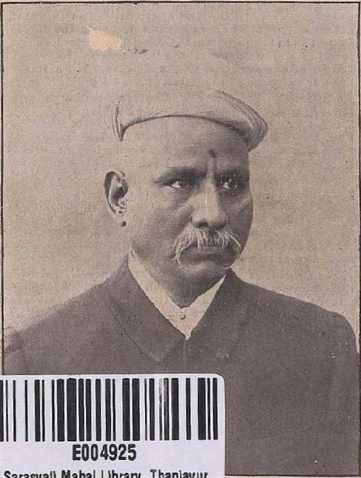
RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR

A SKETCH OF

HIS LIFE AND HIS SERVICES TO INDIA



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RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR.

IN the galaxy of eminent Indians which the Mahratta race has produced, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar occupies a foremost place. For over quarter of a century he has been taking a leading part in the public life of the country, but his activities have not been confined to one particular field. His interest in politics is as keen as his interest in social reform; but, if possible, he is even a yet warmer advocate of industrial development. Long before Swadeshi was talked of, he had been encouraging Swadeshi enterprises, and pleading for more organised technical and industrial education. Though confined to the Central Provinces, his activities have not been parochial and his familiar figure might be seen on all platforms,—on the platform of the National Congress, the Social Conference, the Temperance Conference, the Educational Conference and the Industrial Conference, of the last of which he is still the General Secretary. In fact, Mr. Mudholkar is an all round man and a sincere and earnest worker

in the cause of national regeneration—a man, if we may say so, so various that he seems to be not one, but all mankind's epitome.

Mr. Mudholkar comes of a distinguished family, his ancestors having held the vakilship of the Mudhol State at the Darwar of the Peshwas. His grandfather served as Mamlatdar in Kandesh and his father, Narasing Rao Krishna was Record-keeper of the District Judge's Court in Kandesh when Ranganath Narsing Mudholkar was born at Dhulia on the 16th May, 1857. His early education was divided between Dhulia, Erandol and Berar where his brother held service in the education department. He passed his Matriculation in 1873 from the Dhulia High School and then joined the Elphinstone College, Bombay, for the Arts course. Among his contemporaries were Dayaram Gidumal, Justice Chandavarkar, Vishnu Krishna Bhatwadekar, Dewan Bahadur V. M. Samarth, Dewan Bahadur R. V. Sabnis, Mr. V. G. Bhandarkar and Mr. G. S. Khaperde. He took his degree in 1877 and Principal Wordsworth, a shrewd judge of men, remarked, "he early attracted my attention and the expectations which I then formed of him have been fully realised. I have a very high opinion of his

intellectual and moral attainments and personally a very sincere regard for him." This was no mean praise indeed.

Soon after taking his degree he was appointed Fellow of the Elphinstone College and was teaching History, Logic and Political Economy. He passed his LL. B. in 1880. Even in the early eighties the Bar in Bombay was overcrowded and the cry was, "still they come." Mr. Mudholkar preferred immediate success elsewhere to early struggles in Bombay and therefore decided upon practising in Berar where he and his brother-in-law, the late Mr. Divekar, were the first LL. B's. He set up practice in 1881 at Akola, but shifted next year to Amroati where the Court of the Judicial Commissioner was removed. Since the commencement of his life he has enjoyed a lucrative practice and he has practically led the Bar.

If Mr. Mudholkar had settled in Bombay, there is no doubt that he would have proved a valuable accretion to the ranks of the public men of that Presidency; but Bombay's loss has been the gain of Berar. At the time when Mr. Mudholkar settled in that province it was essentially in a backward condition. Even now Berar occupies an anamolous position. It is like the proverbial bat which

is neither a bird nor a beast. It has been leased from the Nizam, but has not begun to enjoy the full fruits of British territorial jurisdiction. Laws and regulations are framed for it by executive orders issued in the Foreign Department by the Governor-General in Council and to those who have studied the law bearing on the subject it has appeared of doubtful legality. If Berar is not British India, legislation for it can only be framed by the Imperial Parliament or by the Governor-General at a meeting of his Council where in addition to the ordinary members additional members from Berar are appointed. On the other hand, if it forms part of His Majesty's dominions then it is a portion of British India, and laws for it can only be framed by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. Mr. Mudholkar himself drew up an able note pointing out how legislation by Notification is *ultra vires*, to which we hope the attention of the Secretary of State will be drawn.

From the very time Mr. Mudholkar settled in Berar he began to take an active interest in the public life of that province. In any part of India public work has to be carried on under peculiarly difficult circumstances. There are no prizes for

the public worker in India, and he cannot after a few years' apprenticeship look to fat berths and places of preferment. The doors of official life are closed to him and the few who have risen to official eminence have done so not because of their services to the country, but in spite of them and because of their own sterling worth. In any country the prizes of public life are always tempting, but in India its dangers and risks are insurmountable. Friends will throw cold water on us for wasting time and energy on what they regard as profitless tasks, while foes are only too ready to stab us in the dark. Sometimes one's honor and reputation are at stake. If this is so even in advanced provinces, what would the conditions have been in a province like Berar and about thirty years ago? It was not a question of taking part in public life with Mr. Mudholkar, but of creating and organising it.

In that work he was assisted ably by Mr. M. V. Joshi. They started the Berar Sarwajanik Sabha in 1886 and though it did not earn the name of the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha or the Bombay Presidency Association, did useful work, and was the means of keeping the Government informed of the views of the public on all adminis-

trative questions. Most of the representations which the Sabha made to the Government were drafted by Mr. Mudholkar who was Secretary till 1898, and among these may be mentioned as specially noteworthy the memorials on the separation of judicial and executive functions in Berar, revision survey and settlement, agricultural indebtedness and land alienation and the propriety of extending the Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act to the rest of India. The Sabha was not the only medium through which public opinion was formed and Mr. Mudholkar helped in the starting of a newspaper called *Vaidharba* which derived considerable advantage by his frequent contributions to it so long as it lived.

With Mr. Mudholkar politics was not a mere pastime. It was not the means of whiling away a leisurely hour. It involved serious study of the many-sided problems. Politics in fact cannot be divorced from Economics. Both must be studied side by side. Mere political advancement unaccompanied by the development of the material resources of the country cannot avail. His deep study of the economics of industry early warned him against one-sided progress. Though not a captain of industry himself, he early began to take

a deep interest in industrial questions and his contributions have been valuable. In his own way he began to do what he could to help in the material advancement of the country. His very first public act in Berar was the establishment of the Berar Trading Company with the co-operation of some friends. He himself acted as its Secretary at the start. Four years later with Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak and Mr. Jaikrishna Bagaji he started the first factory in Berar and the initial loss, though it provoked ridicule and censure, was soon met and the share value which had dropped to one-half raised soon fourfold. Some years after an Oil Pressing Factory to which was added a ginning factory was started and it is managed now by his brother. Two companies were formed in 1901 for carrying on ginning and pressing operations at Amraoti of which Mr. Mudholkar is one of the largest shareholders and a third was formed in Akola District in which he has substantial interest.

Mr. Mudholkar is thus not a man of words and he has given ample proof of his own earnestness in helping forward the industrial revival of this country. The problem of industrial revival is beset with many difficulties. It depends upon

men and materials and the perfectness of their organisation. The question of capital perhaps is not so very important and the first essential that has to be impressed upon is that education both general and special is imperatively needed not only by the commanders and superior officers of the Industrial army, but by the rank and file. It depends upon the efficiency of the captain and the workman under him whether we shall organise our industries on the same lines on which they are run in the West or not. They can be made efficient only by higher Technical Schools. "Half a century ago when the countries of continental Europe began to construct railways and to erect modern mills, and mechanical workshops," wrote the Royal Commission on Technical Education, "they found themselves face to face with a full-grown industrial organisation in England which was almost a sealed book to those who could not obtain access to its factories. To meet this state of things these countries established Technical Schools and sent engineers and men of science to England and to prepare themselves for becoming teachers of technology in those schools."

Technical High Schools now exist in nearly every continental state, and are the recognised channel for the instruction of those who are intended to become the techni-

cal directors of industrial establishments. Many of the technical chemists have, however, been and are being trained in the German Universities. The Commissioners believe that the success which has attended the foundation of extensive manufacturing establishments, engineering shops and other works on the continent, could not have been achieved to its full extent in the face of many retarding influences, had it not been for the system of high technical instruction in these schools, for the facilities for carrying on original scientific investigation, and for the general appreciation of the value of that instruction and of original research which is felt in those countries. All these schools have been created and are maintained almost entirely at the expense of the several states, the fees of the students being so low as to constitute only a very small proportion of the total income. The buildings are palatial, the laboratories and museums are costly and extensive, and the staff of professors is so numerous as to admit of the utmost sub-division of the subjects taught. The Commissioners were greatly impressed with the general intelligence and technical knowledge of the masters and managers of industrial establishments on the continent. They have found that these persons, as a rule, possess a sound knowledge of the sciences upon which their industry depends. They are familiar with every new scientific discovery of importance, and appreciate its applicability to their special industry. They adopt not only the inventions and improvements made in their own country, but also those of the world at large, thanks to their knowledge of foreign languages, and of the conditions of manufacture prevalent elsewhere.

Under the polytechnic schools come the technical schools for foremen. The theoretical instruction in these schools is similar in character, but inferior in degree to that of the great polytechnic schools. On the other hand considerable attention is devoted in these schools to practical instruction in laboratories and workshops which is not the case in polytechnic schools.

Side by side with the general polytechnic schools are institutions for specialised instruction, such as weaving

schools, miner's schools and schools for workers in iron and steel industries etc., which are intended mainly for developing the qualities required in the foremen, managers and masters. Most of these schools in Germany are founded or maintained by the manufacturers. There are schools for giving the instruction requisite for those who enter the commercial and banking lines.

Numerous societies exist for the purpose of development of technical education among workmen and other persons engaged in industry, by means of lectures and by the establishment of schools and museums of technology. These associations are supported mainly by merchants, manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce.

The facilities which exist in England for what might be called the training of supervisors, directors, leaders and organizers of manufactures, trade and commerce, are said to be even ampler and of a superior type. But the one thing in which the continental educational system is superior to that in England is in regard to the provision for the education of workmen and artisans. Primary education is compulsory and every boy has to attend a school from the age of six till the age of fourteen. In some countries both primary and secondary education is free. And it is not only merely in reading writing and simple rules of Arithmetic that instruction is given in elementary schools, but Drawing—both freehand and by measurement—and manual instruction form part of the curriculam. The greatest importance is attached to drawing as a training of the eye and as teaching exactness. Value is given to manual training as developing dexterity of the hand. The possession of these qualities is considered as necessary for those who are intended to adopt literary pursuits as for those who go in for industries and art. The great importance of drawing and manual training is now recognised in England also.

The American system, while adopting the superior methods which are shown to be desirable and necessary by eminent educationists and practical men, and which the experience of the last two generations justifies, seeks to give them a still more practical turn. The aim of the American Universities in their departments of

science and commerce is to turn out business men who are conversant with the theory of their respective callings.

The report of the Commission which under the initiative of Mr. Mosely visited America with the object of finding out how far the phenomenal development of American industry can be attributed to education—general and technical—reveals several most instructive facts. They state that the most flourishing mechanical and electrical establishments seek after the services of graduates. In fact the demand for scientific graduates exceeds the supply. It would be well to bear in mind, as the Commissioners point out, that in America there are one hundred and ten thousand graduates in every million of the population. The faith of the Americans in education as the true basis and qualification for all useful pursuits and occupations, is so intense as to partake almost of religious fervour.

The great effort of all the leading Western nations is to train up the entire body of their citizens for the callings they may have to adopt in life. They have assimilated the grand truth that the object of education is not so much to stuff the head of the child and the youth with more or less diversified book lore, but to cultivate his faculties, to train his brain, eye and hand, to develop his reasoning powers, to stimulate observation and to encourage constructiveness. It is recognised to be a sacred duty of the State to devote its funds to the preparation for life of its juvenile and adolescent population. It is stated that some of the American States devote nearly half their revenues to purposes of education.

Mr. Mudholkar had long been anxious to give the educational system a scientific and industrial turn, failing which to start purely Technical schools. So far as Berar was concerned an opportunity came in his way. When it was proposed to have a memorial on the demise of Her late Majesty Queen-Empress Victoria, Mr. Mudholkar

was consulted and he promised to join the movement provided it was given the shape of technical or industrial school. The officials and non-officials were in favour of the proposal. When Lord Curzon's opposition to the scheme was made known, it did not meet with approval from official headquarters. But the officer who opposed soon went away. A lakh and fifteen thousand was collected by the committee and by the time a plan can be matured. Berar was united to the Central Provinces. Mr. Hewett was then Chief Commissioner and he was sympathetic. Again Lord Curzon's Government declined to allow the scheme to sail smoothly. But Mr. Hewett became member for Commerce and Industry and Sir Frederick Lely who succeeded him was a good friend of the movement. The Government gave Rs. 30,000 as an initial grant and Rs. 11,300 for maintenance expenditure and 1,300 for Municipalities. Thus through Mr. Mudholkar's exertions Berar is provided with a good technical school.

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council last year he moved the following resolution :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government of India do take early steps to establish a Polytechnic College, for giving instruction in the higher branches of mechanical

engineering, electrical engineering, marine engineering railway engineering, textile manufacture, mining and metallurgy and the different departments of industrial chemistry; and that a Committee of qualified officials and non-officials, European and Indian, be appointed to frame and lay before the Government by the end of August next a scheme suitable for the requirements of the country and capable of being carried out in the immediate future."

In the course of a very able speech in which he moved the resloution he traced the history of question from the earliest times when neither the Education Despatch of 1854 nor the Education Commission of 1882 did any justice to the need for technical education. The subject was taken up in 1888 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin when Sir Antony Macdonnell reported that "it is no exaggeration to say that of the 45 industrial schools which now exist in India hardly one serves any true educational purpose." The Governor-General endorsed this view and issued a resolution impressing upon the local governments the need to form a Committee of educational experts and professional men who should make suggestions from time to time for the auxiliary supply or appropriate means of technical education and when the circumstances are opportune to establish a technical school in each province. He then referred to the report of the Mosely

Commission, which went to America with the object of finding out how far the phenomenal development of American industry can be attributed to education.

A first class Technological College in each province providing instruction in all the various departments and branches of technology will, I fear, be considered at present as beyond the palé of practical politics. But the time has, I submit, my Lord, long since arrived when there should be for India at least one first class fully equipped college of technology comprising within its scope the different departments of industrial and technical knowledge demanded by the circumstances of the country.

The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore cannot according to its constitution and object supply the purposes of the college pleaded for. It will be devoted to post-graduate studies and research, particularly in science. It will be in no sense a trade school, will not deal with what may be called the minor manipulative process of particular industries. The immense importance of research and investigation is not denied and the necessity of such an institution as the Indian Institute of Science is not questioned. All that is pointed out is that it will not take the place of a College of Technology in which the practical and commercial aspects of an industry have to be as much kept in view as the thorough grounding in principles. The Tata Institute will crown the edifice of our system of scientific education. The proposed college will occupy a lower storey intermediate between that Institute and the existing Technical Institutions.

Further, it has to be remembered that the Bangalore Institute will confine its scope to only some of the departments which the suggested Polytechnic College will take up ; and there will be no overlapping of work in this wise also.

As regards ways and means I frankly admit that a Polytechnic College worth the name will require net less than a crore of rupees for capital outlay and from 8 to

10 lakhs a year for recurring expenditure. But, my Lord, when Manchester spent on one school £300,000 or Rs. 45 lakhs for initial expenditure and spends every year 6 lakhs and Charlottenburg spent 75 lakhs on initial expenditure and spends annually 10½ lakhs, is one crore too much for the Indian Empire? London has some 24 institutions ranking as Polytechnics or Technological Colleges. England has about 360 Technical and Art Schools and Colleges. The total number for the United Kingdom is about 620. If the institute is located in a place like Bombay, where during these 18 months 22½ lakhs have been placed at the disposal of His Excellency Sir George Clarke for scientific and industrial education by public-spirited and princely donors like Sir Jacob Sassoon, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sirdar Chinubhai Madhov Lal and Sir Currimbhai Ebrahim, and where the highest commercial and industrial activity prevails, and a well-organised scheme is drawn up in consultation with His Excellency, the demand on the revenues of the Government of India might be appreciably lessened. But without taking these private donations into account, the importance of the matter requires that money must be found for it. The state of our finances will as the year proceeds be found to be more satisfactory than the Hon'ble Financial Member has calculated upon; in fact during the last few weeks there has been an improvement, as the Hon'ble Finance Member has just stated, and along with primary education and sanitation, the advancement of technical and industrial education, should have the first charge upon the increase in the revenue. But if at the end of this year it is found that in spite of additional taxes imposed the other day there is no increase in the revenue, and on investigation it is found that no economy is possible, I for one am prepared for the imposition of taxes, devoted solely to the purpose of industrial education. My Lord, four years ago Your Excellency, in a highly sympathetic speech, emphasised the necessity of technical education in the country in these words:—

'Technical instruction in other countries is growing apace—competition has forced it upon us. We must not lag behind. The success of modern industries and the

preservation of indigenous industries is becoming every day more and more dependent upon scientific and technical knowledge, and if the resources of India are to be developed by the people of India such development must depend largely upon local enterprise, upon the investment of Indian money and upon a recognition of the absolute necessity of expert training.'

In His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, we have most whole-hearted supporters of scientific and industrial education. What this proposition asks for is to give effect to the principles laid down by the Government of India 22 years ago. The time for action has come, and the country expects that Your Excellency's Government will advance the cause of scientific and technical education by providing the means for the acquisition of that higher knowledge on which the development of industries depends.

My Lord, I hope and trust that the Government of India will accept my resolution and appoint a committee of qualified persons, official and non-official, European and Indian, to frame a suitable scheme for an all-India Polytechnic College providing for instruction in the departments specified in the resolution, and to submit their report by the end of August, so that Your Excellency may be in a position to deal with it before the expiry of the term of your office.

My Lord, the year 1910 is already associated with the inauguration of the enlarged and reformed Councils. I pray that it may further be associated with the establishment of technical collegiate instruction, so that the name of the great author of the great political reform may become still more endeared to the present generation and to posterity by the inauguration of an equally great industrial and educational reform.

Although the Government of India did not approve of the resolution, they did so because they wanted time to be given to the development of the experimental institutions now started. It

is no doubt a matter for sincere regret that the resolution has been negatived and that the Secretary of State for India has also vetoed the proposal to establish a polytechnic institute at Cawnpore. The Secretary of State has undoubtedly been ill-advised and the step that has been taken by the Government to give technical instruction in accordance with the recommendation of Sir Antony Macdonnell in 1888 is hardly creditable to them. It can hardly be contended that there is no need for higher technical and scientific learning. As Mr. Mudholkar pointed out in his note on Technical Education submitted to the Educational Conference recently held at Allahabad under the sympathetic chairmanship of Mr. Butler, there is wide scope for it. There are in India 242 cotton mills, 57 jute mills, about 1100 cotton ginning and pressing factories, and 130 jute presses. Then there are many oil mills and sugar factories and there are over 2500 factories owned by individuals or private companies worked by mechanical power. The owners of most of the well-managed ones would be glad to put them in charge of superior engineers. Many large establishments import their engineers, mill-managers, spinning and weaving masters, their

textile chemists and other expert staff from Europe. Is there no scope for trained Indians here and is there no need for a polytechnic institute to train men for these concerns? We hope the creation of a separate education portfolio and the appointment of Mr. Butler in charge of the Department will give a fillip to the cause of technical education in India.

While education is the first need for industrial revival, the second is an industrial survey. It is a matter of urgent importance that people should know the state of the existing industries and the chances of their revival and perhaps it is partly on such knowledge that the curricula of studies can be framed for the different provinces. The Committee on Industrial Education appointed by the Government of India pointed out in their report that they found it extremely difficult to make suitable and practicable suggestions for want of an adequate survey showing the present condition and future possibilities of existing industries; and they strongly urged upon the Government the need for such a survey. As Secretary of the Indian Industrial Conference Mr. Mudholkar sent a Memorial to the Government of India and it is well-known that some of the

Local Governments have practically sympathised with his object. But a comprehensive report for all India is an absolute necessity and unless it is forthcoming, an adequate knowledge of the present and prospective condition of Indian industries cannot be had.

The keen interest which Mr. Mudholkar has been taking in the industrial revival of the country has not gone unrequited and when the Indian Industrial Conference was started in 1906, he was unanimously elected Secretary. The fact that many Captains of industry might have been chosen and were not preferred, shows the hold he has on the public and the regard his friends have for him. The object and scope of the Conference may best be stated in his own words :—

(1) To obtain from qualified persons papers and suggestions bearing on Industrial questions, with a view to promote their consideration and discussion by those who are in a position to do so and to spread general knowledge among the uninitiated,

(2) To form Associations and Committees throughout the country for promoting industrial development by starting new manufactures and encouraging the existing ones;

(3) To secure the establishment of a complete and well co-ordinated system of Technical and Industrial education—primary, secondary and higher;

(4) To have an industrial survey that is a fairly full of accurate knowledge of the industries existing now

in the country, their condition, their prospects as matters stand, their capability of expansion and the facilities needed for accomplishing this advance;

(5) To prepare and issue publications like Directories, Bulletins, etc., calculated to stimulate the production and consumption of indigenous articles;

(6) By prizes and otherwise to encourage the improvement of appliances and processes used in the different existing crafts and manufactures to raise their efficiency at a cost which will bring them within the reach of the ordinary artisans and the small capitalists; and

(7) By lecture, leaflets, pamphlets, etc., to rouse general interest and secure systematic action in the cause of Industrial expansion.

For five years the Conference has been doing quiet, useful, unostentatious work and no doubt the credit is largely due to him. If it has not been able to perform all that it has set before itself to do, it has given rise to a deal of healthy literature on the subject. It has created and stimulated interest in Industrial questions and the papers annually collected and published by the Conference contain much valuable information for people to profit by. There is no disguising the fact that the interest is not being sustained throughout the year and that local organisations are not putting forth the best in them to co-operate with the central organisation. But the Industrial Conference suffers from that national weakness in common with its sister movements. All the same the interest it has created within

these five years and the large body of support it has evoked are a hopeful augury, and should ever we take a prominent place in the industrial and manufacturing nations of the world, no small part of the credit will go to the Industrial Conference which has kept alive in us what may be called the "industrial conscience."

Of one aspect of its work to which mention must be made, he writes :—

It is necessary that there should be at least one fully equipped Polytechnic Institute for the country, at least one Technological college in each of the different provinces, at least one general secondary technical school for each District. The entire educational system in the primary and secondary schools will have to be overhauled and made more real and practical. But for properly organizing industrial and technical education, as also for determining what industries should be taken in hand, in what order, and to what extent, the existing situation ought to be fully and carefully ascertained, and it should be found out where improvement is most practicable. An industrial survey is thus necessary, because without it no complete scheme for technical education can well be formulated, nor can the establishment or development of industries be satisfactorily carried out. It is not to be supposed that the information already collected is not valuable. But it is in many respects not sufficiently detailed, and is wanting in co-ordination of results. An authoritative and reliable survey can only be carried out by Government. But as it will not do to wait till Government takes the matter in hand, the Conference Office is attempting to have a temporary substitute in its place. Efforts are being made by addressing inquiries to individual citizens and non-official bodies and to collect and collate such information as they can give.

As a further token of the appreciation of his services he was called upon to preside over the Second Central Provinces and Berar Provincial Industrial Conference, and the Fourth Indian Industrial Conference held in Madras. In both the presidential addresses he made eloquent plea for the Government taking greater interest in the industrial well-being of the people than they have been doing. He pointed out that our well-being in the immediate present and our progress in the future are as much dependent upon the establishment of a healthy condition of industrial activity as upon political advancement or social reform and the same self-sacrifice and devotion are required from our public men by the first as by the other two. In fact, he continued that most of the political and social questions which confront us and make urgent demands upon our close attention are at their base economic. It is only by a full recognition of the intimate connection and inter-dependence of these three spheres of activity that it is possible to ensure a healthy existence for the nation.

Mr. Mudholkar joined the Indian National Congress in 1888 when it met in Allahabad under the presidency of the late George Yule. Since

then he has attended almost every Congress and has taken part in its deliberations every year. He has always spoken on economic questions and very soon made a mark. He so much impressed the Congress leaders by his mastery of the politico-economic questions that he was appointed at the Bombay Congress next year as a delegate to England along with Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, Mr. Eardley Norton and his fellow-townsman Mr. M. V. Joshi, to plead for the reform of the Legislative Councils. To look only twenty years back, the Legislative Councils were in a condition which can only be called shams. There was no election of the Members and the nominated Councillors met only when there was a financial proposal demanding consideration. The state of the Councils has been well described by Raja Rampal Singh, who had a relation of his in the Imperial Legislative Council. This gentleman did not know English—even now a knowledge of English is not considered necessary in some councils—and when he was asked by the Raja how he was guided in giving his vote, he simply said, "why, I held up my hand when the Viceroy held up his, and dropped it when he did." That was the state of things for the removal of which

the deputation was sent up to England. It was a happy augury, said a writer in the Press in welcoming them, that Mr. Mudholkar and Joshi are living in the apartments occupied by Benjamin Franklin when he came to England to represent the cause of the American colonists a hundred years ago!

While the reforms that Mr. Mudholkar and his friends went on deputation to plead for, were of such an elementary character as the expansion of the Councils on a representative basis, the amount of work they had to do in England was undoubtedly tremendous. They had to remove an amount of ignorance which is truly colossal. Macaulay has depicted to us in a memorable passage the total indifference of the British public to Indian questions and after a year's stay in England Sir Pherozeshah Mehta has come back with the conclusion that the amount of ignorance that prevails even in well-informed quarters is phenomenal and that our real work lies in dissipating it. If that is so now, it is possible to conceive what it would have been twenty years ago. Opposition one can welcome and account for. But a Himalaya of ignorance cannot be removed in a few lectures however gifted and

powerful the spokesmen may be. And it reflects considerable credit upon Mr. Mudbolkar and his friends that they were able to create an interest in Indian affairs among the British democracy and to their spadework perhaps was due the very little opposition that was gathered round the Reform Bill of Lord Cross.

Mr. Mudholkar is not an orator, but he is gifted with the power of expressing his views straightforwardly and in a few happy sentences and if he failed to carry audiences, he brought home to his hearers in a few terse sentences the justice of the cause he was advocating. At the reception given in honor of the Deputation by Mr. and Mrs. Schwann, Mr. Mudholkar made the following speech which sums up Indian aspirations under British rule :—

We wish the British Government to carry out the policy which itself laid down years ago, viz., that of associating the people in the government of the country. When England conquered India, and when the principle on which the Government of India was to be carried on came up for consideration and discussion, England had two ways before her. One was that of holding India by the iron grasp of a military despotism, another was that of trying to raise her in the scale of nations, and adopting towards her a just and generous policy. We in India know what that policy has been, and there are none who are more alive to the greatness and the nobility of the policy they pursued than the so-called educated portion of the community,—that portion of the

community which has been so much misunderstood. We are all conscious that India has secured numerous blessings at the hand of England. We know that peace has been secured for the country, we know that order has been established, that you have constructed railroads, and telegraphs, and canals, and done everything you could according to your lights and according to what is represented to you for improving the condition of the country. But there is no gain-saying the fact that along with these things, these improvements, blessings, and benefits that you have conferred, and in spite of these things, there have arisen certain grave problems, which it is necessary for you to discuss and to solve. My friend (Mr. Surendranath Banerjee) has referred to one of those grave problems, the poverty of the people. Now there is no country that is free from poverty; the poor are always with us. But you can have no conception of the poverty of the people of India. In this country the average income has been estimated to be £43 a year, and the average income in India, according to Government calculations, is twenty-seven rupees. That is, according to the present rate of exchange, forty shillings a year, which amounts only to three-half-pence a day. A man in India has to support himself on that. According to the calculations of a gentleman now in the Council of the Secretary of State forty-two rupees are required for maintaining a full-bodied agriculturist in a tolerable condition in life. The actual income is twenty-seven rupees and what is the result? I am not expressing it in my own language, but again will quote official authority. Sir William Hunter says that forty millions of people live from one year's end to another without a full meal. Sir Charles Elliott, writing as Chief Commissioner of Assam, said that half the agricultural population of the country passed through life without knowing what it was to have their hunger fully satisfied, that means seventy millions of people. If there was anything more wanted to show the dismal record of our poverty it is afforded by the history of the famines. In eighteen years as many as twelve millions of people died that most miserable of all deaths—death from starvation. Now the Government

which you established though it was a very good government at one time, is one which is not suitable now, and it has done things which you in England I am sure, would never allow for a moment, things which, to express it in the mildest way, are unjustifiable. I will tell you of only one instance, I refer to the history of the Famine Insurance Fund. India, you know, is subject to famines, and it has to guard against them. In 1878 a special tax was imposed, from which officials were excluded, and the professional class, who are a rather noisy class of men, lawyers and Government servants, and men like my friend Mr. Norton and myself, were excluded. It was an impost on artisans. When it was imposed Lord Lytton and his Finance Minister stated in the Council, and also in their Minutes, that the proceeds of that tax would be scrupulously and religiously applied to mitigating the severities of the famines. But when the famines came, it was said that there was no fund, and the very next year after that, the proceeds of that Famine Insurance Fund were applied not to mitigating the famines, not to the construction of works to ward off future famines, but to an aggressive war—the Afghan War. During twelve years £18,000,000 were produced from that fund, and out of that only a little more than a quarter of a million were applied to real famine purposes. Seven and a-half millions were applied to indirect famine purposes, and the rest, viz., ten million pounds sterling, to the erection of a palatial building for the residence of the Viceroy, for frontier works, and for carrying on wars. That is how, that fund, specially created for famine purposes, was applied. Whilst India is so poor, its form of administration is the costliest, Speaking proportionately, we are taxed twice as much as you are taxed here, and the poorest people are taxed twice as much as the richest. That is how the thing stands. This should be a matter of concern to you, not simply because you mean to govern India in an enlightened manner, but as a matter of self-interest. India is the one great country with which you have unrestricted free trade. Your trade with the Continent is more or less restricted; you have prohibitive tariffs on the Continent and in America,

and even in your own Colonies. India is the one country where you have unrestricted free trade, and yet India is so poor that it cannot take one-twentieth, not even one-fortieth, of what Australia takes. The average consumption of English produce in India is only two shillings per head, while in Australia it is £9 a head in spite of the prohibitive taxes. That is due simply to the fact that India is very poor while Australia is rich. It is for this, amongst other reasons, that we want the people of the country to have a voice in the Government of the country, in order that laws may be made more conformable with the conditions of the people, in order that there may be retrenchment, economy, and reform throughout. It is for this reason that we desire that those who have an interest in the proper government of the country should also have a voice in the country's councils; it is for this reason that we ask that they shall be more associated with the government of the country than they are at the present time. (Cheers.)

In 1897 Mr. Mudholkar invited the Congress to Amraoti. It was a year of great trouble in the Maharastra. The Poona murders and the compaign of press prosecutions leading to the conviction of Mr. Tilak of sedition had created a profound impression on popular mind. The Government was suspicious of the loyalty of the educated classes. The Congress, it was hoped, had lived down the charge of sedition levelled against it by mischief-making persons; but the enemies of the country made party capital of the conviction of Mr. Tilak. It was a question of holding the Congress or not at all. It was necessary that if the Congress was to maintain its

reputation as a body of level-headed politicians, loyal to the Throne, and at the same time anxious for the redress of our legitimate grievances, it should be firm in its demands but give no quarter to the seditiously inclined. It was the year in short which put our statesmanship on trial and there is no doubt that the success of the Congress was due as much to the good sense and patriotism of the rank and file as to the wisdom of leaders like Mr. Mudholkar who invited the Congress and worked incessantly for the satisfactory conclusion of its labours.

That perhaps does not exhaust the services he had rendered to the Congress. No less remarkable and valuable were his services ten years later when the Congress was proposed to be held in Nagpur. Nobody, not even Mr. Mudholkar and his friends, was able to apprise the machinations of the enemies of the Congress in the early months of 1907, but the truth dawned upon him very soon. We shall perhaps not know the endeavours which he in common with many of his friends did to prevent the change of *venue* from Nagpur and it was only after all endeavours to pacify Dr. Munje and his friends who set up the row had failed that he finally threw

in his lot with those who shifted the Congress to Surat. And even there Mr. Mudholkar might be seen closely conferring with leaders of every kind advising co-operation. He met and spoke to every group of Congress delegates counselling co-operation and asking them to run the Congress on the usual lines. Though a moderate, he never wanted secession and did all that he could to prevent it. From early morning till late in the day he could be seen busy going round the camps addressing meetings and pleading for not wrecking the movement they had worked for well-nigh quarter of a century to build up. But his voice proved a voice in the wilderness.

Early in the same year he was invited to preside over the third session of the Central Provinces and Berar Provincial Conference held at Raipur. As may be expected the speech was an excellent summary of the Congress demands for the separation of the judicial from executive functions, for a Legislative Council to the Central Provinces and Berar, for more literary, scientific and technical education, and it strongly condemned the land revenue assessments. Anticipating as it were the the secession of December he summed up his political faith in these words:—

Self-Government is the goal of our political ambition, because it is only an autonomous nation which can afford scope and supply facilities for the development of those intellectual powers and that moral and spiritual fervour which must be possessed by its citizens before they can take their share in the evolution of the human race. Such autonomy for India is not beyond the range of practical politics when some of the wisest and best men of England admit its justice and contemplate its grant. It is not an impossible or impracticable claim which we advance. It is not merely speculative considerations or abstract principles on which we rely. We take our stand on the firm ground of statutory rights and royal pledges (Hear, hear). The combined wisdom of the three Estates of the British realm laid down in 1833.—

While Mr. Mudholkar enjoys the confidence of his countrymen, he commands the respect of the Government in no small measure. On almost all questions affecting the well-being of the people of the Central Provinces he has been freely consulted and his advice has been unstintedly given. He gave valuable evidence recently before the Decentralisation Commission. On behalf of his old province he put in this plea :—

The districts forming the Central Provinces and Berar (with if possible Sambalpur and Chhota Nagpur also) should be formed into one province and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. There should be a Board of Revenue consisting of two of the senior Commissioners and one head of a Department. There should be an Advisory Council consisting of half nominated and half elected members with defined functions and powers and there should be a Legislative Council of 36 members (exclusive of the head of the administration) half of whom should be elected. If these changes are made the Provincial Government might be invested

with the fuller powers suggested in regard to Madras and Bombay.

On the working of the Municipalities he said :—

What is necessary to be done is that the freest scope under the Municipal and Rural Boards Laws should be allowed to Municipalities and District Boards, that there should be as little direct interference of Government Departments and Government officers as possible, that the District officers should as a rule not be on these committees and Boards as members but should exercise their supervision and control from without under the controlling sections of the Municipal and Rural Boards Laws. It might be that now and then these bodies might commit mistakes. But so long as they work regularly, honestly and zealously and the funds entrusted to them are really applied to public purposes, they should not be interfered with. If Village Unions or local sub-committees for special purposes are formed, there is little reason to fear that even in rural areas such works as are usually carried out through District Board funds, such as the construction and repair of ordinary district roads, village schools, chawdies, sarais, pounds &c., will not be as well and as economically done as at present. Indeed many believe that there would be an improvement if the proper kind of non-official agency is invested with these functions. There should of course be proper supervision, direction, and control exercised by the expert advisers of the Board and a very close and careful scrutiny of accounts.

On village panchayats he proposed :—

The chief thing to which the attention of both the Government and the people should be directed is the revival or the reconstruction of the Village Union. With the forces which have been at work for a long time past the old class of Village Unions cannot be revived, but what should be striven for is to establish in each village a body selected entirely by the people to whom their local affairs might be entrusted.

As the creation of such Village Unions would be something in the nature of a new experiment, action can

only be taken in a tentative manner. The experiment should be tried in one or two of the advanced districts, in Villages or townlets having a population of over one thousand and not forming part of a Municipality. All people paying Rs. 20 and above as land revenue or owning a house of the value of Rs. 200 should elect twenty-five people to form a general committee for the village. Four or five of them should be entrusted with sanitation and four or five others with the carrying out of public works and so on. Their assistance also should be taken in the organisation of Rural-Co-operative Credit, the distribution and collection of Takavi advances, the granting of famine relief and in times of famine or great scarcity for finding out who are the deserving objects of the suspension or remission of the land revenue. But the great departure which I would wish to be inaugurated is in the direction of investing these bodies with powers to try petty civil suits and petty criminal cases. A village tribunal should be created for the trial of all simple money suits of the value of Rs. 50 or under or for the recovery of rent or mesne profits or like amounts. In these suits the parties living within the jurisdiction of the Village Union should be under an obligation to bring their cause before this tribunal which should consist of two persons chosen by the plaintiffs and by the defendants out of the twenty-five members constituting the village representatives or elders. There sbould be exemption from Court Fees and parties and witnesses must be bound to obey the process of the tribunal. Petty criminal cases about slight hurt, assault, abuse &c. should be triable by them and they should be invested with power of inflicting a sentence of fine not exceeding Rs. 10.

On administrative decentralisation he made the novel proposal :—

For giving full effect to the policy of decentralization in regard to financial and administrative matters the present system will have to be materially altered. The process of centralising all authority in the Governor-

General which came into marked prominence from the Government of India Act of 1833 will have to be revised. While reserving to that authority all power in regard to peace and war, the making of treaties, questions affecting the foreign relations, the military and naval defences of the country, the public debt, the relations with the Feudatory Princes, matters of policy and principle of general application to the whole country, control over such Imperial Departments as Railways, Telegraphs, Post Office &c., and general power of supervision and the power of direction and control in cases of emergency, the Provincial Governments should have a free hand in all matters pertaining to the internal administration and domestic concerns of the province, subject to the limitations laid down by 13 George III C.63 S. 9, 3 & 4 Will. IV C. 85 S. 39. But before the Provincial Governments can be invested with these larger powers they should be raised to the same position as the Governments of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay in the first quarter of the last century. The whole of India proper should be divided into five presidencies at the head of which should be a Governor and Council. The constitution of two presidencies, one for the Lower Provinces of Bengal and the other for the old N. W. Provinces each under a Governor in Council of its own, was distinctly contemplated when III & IV Will. C. 85 was passed.

Apart from this suggestion about dividing India into five presidencies, the positions of the different local Governments will have to be much more alike than at present. The difference between the positions of a Governor and of a Lieutenant-Governor though not very great is material while that between those of a Lieutenant Governor and a Chief Commissioner is very great. If the territory under a Chief Commissioner be large enough it should be raised to a Lieutenant-Governor's charge. If it is too small for that purpose it should be incorporated with a neighbouring presidency or province and brought under the administration of a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor. Decentralisation can be introduced only when the position of provincial Government is made sufficiently high.

Although Mr. Mudholkar was one of the oldest Congressman who pleaded for the expansion of the Legislative Councils, it was not given him to become a member of the legislature. The chief reason undoubtedly was the fact that the Central Provinces and Berar had no Council of its own. It is an open secret that he was many times recommended for a seat in the Imperial Council, but it was only last year that he was nominated. Of his work in the Imperial Legislative Council there is no need to speak much. He has been constantly taking part in almost all the debates and his earnestness has left a deep impression on the Council. The very first speech that he delivered was on the Press Bill and though he supported it he pleaded for the provisions of the Bill being used with judicious discretion. He supported the resolutions of Mr. Gokhale on the question of the status of Indians in South Africa and on the extension of primary education. During the budget discussion last year he pleaded for an extra two lakhs being given to his province for education. He moved a resolution in favour of the establishment of a polytechnic institute to which we have already referred and joined Mr. Gokhale in pleading for a reduction of public expenditure.

When the Factories Bill was introduced into the Council this year, Mr. Mudholkar opposed it in a strong and well-reasoned speech. He admitted the need for the State taking more interest in juvenile and woman labour, but protested against any interference with adult labour. He said :—

But it is this new principle which is sought to be introduced in India against which it is necessary to make an emphatic protest, that is, the curtailment of the freedom of persons quite capable of taking care of their own interests. If there had been any necessity, any reason shown, why factory hands ought to be specially protected, if it had been shown that advantage was taken of the ignorance or the necessities of these people, to impose upon them conditions which do not obtain in other trades, then a case might possibly have been made out. But, my Lord, unless we are prepared in this Council to admit communistic principles and to say that here we shall have nothing but equal division of profits between capital and labour, and that the hours of labour in every sphere of life, amongst domestic servants, in agriculture and in all other industries, have to be brought under the operation of the principle, I do not see with what consistency we can say that hours of factory labour alone shall be regulated by legislation. Unless we are prepared to say that this principle is to be carried to other spheres of life also, I submit, my Lord, it would not be proper for the legislature to say that this rule of maximum hours of labour can be laid down with regard to factories. It is, as I submit, my Lord, first of all an interference with the freedom of contract, and secondly it is selecting a special sphere of life for special legislation of an onerous kind and placing on factory owners responsibilities and heavy burdens which do not exist in the case of other trades. This is a matter in regard to which I ask Government to keep a free mind and to consider whether it is necessary to

have this kind of restriction prescribed for adult male labour in factories. There are several matters more or less of detail, and in regard to them I say nothing at present. Only in regard to this distinctive feature of the Bill, it becomes necessary to submit to this Council the protest of the Province which I represent and which possesses nearly 330 factories. It is necessary to enter our protest against this interference with adult male labour and with the relations proposed to be established between them and the factory owners."

He seconded Mr. Gokhale's resolution asking for a committee to enquire into the growth of public expenditure and spoke in favour of Mr. Haque's resolution to increase the grant of the Government of India to local Governments to an extent that may be needed to abolish the raising of fees from primary schools. He supported the resolution of Mr. Dadabhoy for the abolition of cotton excise duties. In supporting the amendment of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution on the sugar industry, in favour of an inquiry into the present condition of the sugar industry Mr. Mudholkar said :—

The question, Sir, is a twofold one. One is the question as it affects the agriculturist and the other is as it affects the manufacturer. First of all the manufacturer requires superior varieties of cane; and in regard to that the existing defective methods of cultivation without manure and cultivation of inferior varieties and such other things have to be taken into consideration. There is also another question. People speak of what exists in Java and other places—concentrated cultivation.

How can we secure concentrated cultivation ? Land is divided among numerous tenants or occupants. How is sugarcane to be grown in centralised areas in limited circles ? We require a central factory. How can a central factory work satisfactorily if the raw material has to be collected from a distance, even when we have cheap and rapid transit ? So this also should be taken into consideration—'how you can bring the raw material within the requisite time to the factory'; that has also to be determined, to be found out. As I said just now, we have to bring the sugarcane to the factory within a certain limited time, for if it does not come in the time, there is loss in the sugar and the juice undergoes various processes of deterioration. That I believe is another thing which the Agricultural Department and the agricultural experts can hardly be expected to deal with. Who is going to give advice to the Government in regard to the matter about securing concentration of cultivation ? It is a matter which can be handled by a body which deals with all the aspects of the question, which takes all these various factors into consideration and makes suggestions to the Government after that. We have up to now taken purely that aspect of the question which deals with the raw material itself. But we have got other things to do in addition to concentration of cultivation—things without which the industry cannot hope to compete with other industries.

Here I must point out the magnitude of the difficulty which we have to contend against, and that is the enormous difference in price which exists between imported sugar and indigenous sugar. I had occasion to point out about two years ago the great discrepancy which exists. I took certain mufassal districts, places removed both from the coast and from the manufacturing centres of the sugar industry, and I found that what is called Benares or Kasi sugar sold at the rate of Rs. 16 per maund of 40 seers. Sugar manufactured by modern processes in India sold at the rate of 12 to 13 rupees per maund, and imported sugar sold at the rate of Rs. 9 per maund. Enquiries which I made about a month and a half ago showed that the discrepancies between the prices have become accentuated, and we may well say

now that the difference between the prices of Benares sugar and the imported sugar is fully 100 per cent. Now, that is a thing which I doubt if the Agricultural Department will greatly trouble itself about, but which a body which is entrusted with a special mission will surely take into consideration and about the removal of which will make recommendations. Over and above cultivation we have got the further thing—to address ourselves as to what is to be done in the factory itself. We have got old methods, which are undoubtedly ineffective and wasteful. But we have to see what, in the circumstances of the country, are the methods which can feasibly be introduced. It can easily be said that we ought to collect 5 lakhs or 10 lakhs of rupees and start factories on a large scale. The Government is interested both in the development of industries and also in the furtherance of our agriculture, has to take a practical view of the matter and to see what are the things which lie within the power of people and what things are likely to be done. We are not living in an ideal state of society; we have to take men as they are and the state of things as it exists and consider what means are feasible. In other words, what is practical in regard to these matters? Well, there is, I admit, a certain amount—a considerable amount—of work which can be achieved by co-operation, co-operation in work and co-operation of capital. There are co-operative banks, which, if they are developed and the co-operative credit societies system is brought into operation both for the purpose of improving quality and securing concentration of cultivation and furthermore for the purpose of starting and helping factories, and if we find out by the help of practical experts what kind of factory system is capable of being established and carried out in India, then we would, so to say, be placing the thing on a more satisfactory basis than at present. The factories in other countries like Java are conducted on a grand scale, but I do not know whether those scales are at all feasible here for a long time to come. What we have got to see here is to establish some central factories and smaller factories under them working in co-operation, and work them by the most modern and effective methods. Our people have to

remember that both the agriculturist and manufacturer of sugar who adhere to the old methods will be swept off. Our old factories have been swept off. There were something like 300 factories some 15 or 20 years ago. At present, I believe, there are hardly 25 or 30 registered factories. Many of the smaller factories have ceased to exist. Even these 30 factories will probably before long cease to exist. We have, therefore, to take into consideration what is feasible to be done so far as the manufacturer is concerned. Here again there are two difficulties—the first of capital, and the second of want of scientific knowledge on the part of those who are carrying on the smaller factories. Manufacture of sugar by modern methods is a matter in regard to which scientific knowledge is required. The supply of this kind of knowledge has been placed before Government and was considered in the Educational Conference which met at Allahabad last month under the Hon'ble Member for Education. I am glad to say that the United Provinces Government and the Government of India in the Education Department are going to take up in earnest the subject of the sugar industry. But that again is a thing which has to be worked in a systematic manner.

The question of the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the Services came for discussion on the motion of Mr. N. Subba Rao and Mr. Mudholkar in the course of his speech in support of the resolution confined his attention only to their employment in Public Works and Railways and the following facts he adduced are interesting:—

Sir, taking the State Railways managed by the State, we find that there are in the Engineering Department 30 Chief Engineers and Superintending Engineers on salaries ranging from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,750. There is only one Indian officiating in the third class in this

branch. There are 50 Executive Engineers on salaries ranging from Rs. 700 to Rs. 1,250; of these 7 are Indians. There are 50 Assistant Engineers on salaries ranging from Rs. 380 to Rs. 660, of whom only 2 are Indians. There are 38 Royal Engineers (Executive Engineers and Assistants) on salaries ranging from Rs. 550 to Rs. 1,270, none of whom are Indians. There are 24 temporary Engineers on salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1.250, of whom only one is an Indian. That is, out of 190 persons on salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,750, there are only 11 Indians. Let us take another department of the railways, the directing one viz., the Managers and Sub-Managers. There are eight posts with salaries ranging from Rs. 1,300 to Rs. 3,000, and there is no Indian amongst them. Then the Traffic Department—the Superintendents and Deputy Superintendents and District Superintendents, whose number is 50, on salaries ranging from Rs. 600 to Rs. 2,000, of whom there is only one Indian on Rs. 700. There are 62 Assistant Superintendentships on salaries ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, of which only 7 are held by Indians. In the Locomotive Department, in which there are about 100 appointments on salaries ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 2,000, there is only one Indian who is an Assistant Superintendent, and he too is an Honorary Assistant Superintendent. In the Carriage Department there are 15 places on salaries ranging from Rs, 350 to Rs. 1,600, and there is not one Indian employed. In the Stores Department there is only one out of nine. In the Bridge and Signalling Departments there are 12 superior posts carrying pays up to Rs. 1,050, none of which are held by Indians. The tale does not stop there. If we go to the Subordinate Revenue-establishment even there we find that among the subordinate engineering staff consisting of 42 persons on salaries ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 only 4 or 5 are Indians. In the Signalling Department there is no Indian. In the Traffic Subordinate Branch, including traffic inspectors and station-masters, out of 72 persons on salaries ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, there are only 4 Indians. In the Locomotive Department, out of 131 upper subordinates, only one is an Indian.

Again :—

In the Great Indian Peninsula Railway there are 7 appointments on pays ranging from Rs. 387½ to Rs. 3,500, in the Agent's office, there is no Indian. In the audit and Accounts Department there are 15 appointments on pays ranging from Rs. 292 to Rs. 2,000, and there is no Indian. Whether Indians are fit in the Accounts and Audit Department or not is shown by the fact that posts of Accountants General and Deputy Accountants General are held, and held with credit, by Indians. In the Engineering Department there are 73 appointments carrying salaries ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 2,000, and there is only one Indian on Rs. 480, and he too is only an Assistant Engineer. In the Traffic Department there are 28 appointments on pays ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 2,638, and none of them are held by Indians. In the Locomotive Department there are 20 appointments on salaries ranging from Rs. 600 to Rs. 2,200, none of which are held by Indians. In the Carriage and Wagon Department there are 5 appointments on salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,700, none of which are held by Indians. In the Stores Department there are 6 appointments on salaries ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,275, none of which are held by Indians. In the Medical Department there are 8 places on salaries ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,200, none of which are held by Indians. Indians are not even fit for employment as railway doctors! I shall take one more instance—that of the East Indian Railway. There are 7 appointments on Rs. 400 to Rs. 3,500, in the Agent's Office, and there is only one appointment on Rs. 500 held by an Indian, and he is a Vakil. In the Audit and Accounts Department there are 12 appointments on pays ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 2,500, but one only is held by an Indian on Rs. 600, namely, the Treasurer. In the Medical Department there are 10 appointments on salaries ranging from Rs. 480 to Rs. 1,500, none of which are held by Indians. In the Stores Department there are 5 appointments on salaries ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,500, none of which are held by Indians. Even in the Printing Department no Indian is employed in any of the upper posts. In the Engineering Depart-

ment there are 49 appointments with salaries from Rs. 350 to Rs. 2,750, none of which are held by Indians. In the Electrical Department there is no appointment held by Indians. In the Traffic Department there are 41 appointments on Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,500, and 21 appointments on Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, only one of which was held—it is no longer held now—by an Indian. That Indian resigned sometime ago and his place was given to a European. In the Colliery Department the same is the case. I shall not go on piling more facts. In the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, in the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and in the Madras Railway things are very much the same. In the Bengal-Nagpur Railway there is a very very slight difference, but after all it is only three or four places more than what exist elsewhere.

Mr. Mudholkar has been in the Imperial Legislative Council only for two years and constituted as the Council is, there is not much scope for an Indian non-official member to do much. The Government are in a majority and against their opposition non-official members cannot hope to do much. It is only by winning them over to our side by constant persuasion that any good at all can be done. And Mr. Mudholkar posseses all the qualifications necessary for that purpose. His close and intimate study of public questions compel the attention of the Council and his deep earnestness secures to him its respect. And these are the qualities that are required in a public man. And that was why he was invited to attend the Educational Conference held at

Allahabad a few months ago under the Chairmanship of Mr. Butler. We have already referred to the note that he placed before the Conference and it is well-known that the Conference was deeply anxious to further the cause of higher technical education to which Mr. Mudholkar addressed himself.

Love of his fellowmen and service to his countrymen have been his motto and he may always be expected to be at his post when duty called him. Perhaps no work gave him greater pleasure than to relieve the poor and the distressed and whenever famine visited his province he was ready to help the starving and the poor. The failure of the rains in 1896 which brought about a severe famine in the Central Provinces, Northern India and the Deccan produced in Berar also great scarcity and high prices. The project of selling grain at rates below the market rates and establishing a kitchen for the very poor unable to work, was resolved upon by him and Mr. Joshi and the proposal was accepted by other non-officials and the Commissioner and other European officials. In March 1897 a branch of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund was started in Berar and Mr. Mudholkar entered on the work

whole-heartedly. In 1898 the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred upon him in recognition of his work. In 1899—1900 came another great famine, perhaps the greatest in the century and Mr. Mudholkar acted again as Secretary to the Famine Fund.

Mr. Mudholkar has always taken a keen interest in social reform and though he is not a "whole-hogger," he sympathises largely with the main principles of the movement. He does not want the State to interfere in matters concerning the social polity of the Hindus and depends for the social amelioration of the people on the growth of public opinion. He is for reform on shastraic lines and on the lines of least resistance. In a paper which he prepared many years ago he made a strong plea for marriage reform among the Hindus. He recommended the age-limit both for the marriage of boys and girls being raised. He does not advocate the abolition of caste, but is for the gradual fusion of the sub-castes. He advocates the remarriage of virgin-widows basing his conviction of the Parasara Smrithi.

नष्टे नृते प्रव्राजिते क्लीबेचपनिते पतौ ।
पंचत्स्वापत्सु, नारीणां पतिरन्योविधीयते ॥

He was offered by the late Mr. Ranade the Presidentship of the fifth Indian Social Conference held at Nagpur in 1891 but his modesty precluded him from accepting it.

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